

### 2017 NATIONAL BLUE RIBBON SCHOOL AWARD

(Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in recognition of Greenville Junior/Senior High School in Greenville, Pennsylvania, and Laurel Junior/Senior High School in New Castle, Pennsylvania, which were recently honored by the Department of Education as 2017 National Blue Ribbon Schools.

This award, given to only 342 schools in America this year, is based on a school's overall academic performance as well as its progress in closing achievement gaps among its students.

In her message of congratulations, Secretary DeVos commended the visionaries, innovators, and leaders who are preparing every child for a bright future. I am proud to join her in congratulating the teachers and administrators of Greenville and Laurel, as well as the families of these students, for the love and support they provide.

Most of all, I want to congratulate the students themselves for a job well done. They are truly a credit to Pennsylvania's Third District and to our country. It is an honor to represent them in the people's House.

### EXPRESSING GRATITUDE TO THE MEN AND WOMEN IN FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

(Ms. JACKSON LEE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I serve on the House Judiciary Committee and serve as the ranking member on the Crime, Terrorism, Homeland Security, and Investigations Subcommittee, which means that I deal with every single Federal law enforcement entity across the Nation.

I am disappointed and I am outraged by the language from the Commander in Chief to suggest that the FBI is in tatters. We have agreements and disagreements with the chief law enforcement agency, but these men and women protecting us in this Nation, but also against domestic terrorism and even beyond, are called around the Nation to investigate heinous crimes. Their expertise is respected.

I remember when there was a child molester in my community. I worked with local police, but I insisted that the FBI get involved. They were willing to do so even though it was not a matter across State lines. Their very presence made a difference.

I think we owe them a better response, and I certainly think the Commander in Chief has a responsibility to do a better job.

I also believe that we have got to pass CHIP because thousands of children need healthcare. It is important for us to do our job.

### REPUBLICAN TAX BILL

(Mr. ENGEL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, at least Robin Hood stole from the rich and gave to the poor, but my Republican colleagues, with this Republican tax bill, are stealing from the poor and the middle class and giving to the rich. It is absolutely disgraceful. The tax bill boosts the rich and burdens the middle class.

I can say I have been here a long time, and this is one of the worst bills I have ever seen in all my years in Congress.

What happened to the Republican Party talking about fiscal responsibility? This blows a \$1 trillion hole in the Federal deficit and puts the burden on our children and grandchildren.

So let's not look at this tax scam. People should be getting together on both sides of the aisle. Tear up this one-sided bill, and let's put our heads together and come up with something good.

It was done during the Ronald Reagan years in a bipartisan way. Why can it not be done that way now?

My particular State of New York, my home State of New York, gets really attacked by this. High cost-of-living States get really attacked.

It is not right to play political games. You take a look at this, and you notice that blue States get attacked with this terrible bill.

Tear it up. Let's work together and come up with something good.

### RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until approximately 6:30 p.m. today.

Accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 9 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 1830

### AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. BYRNE) at 6 o'clock and 30 minutes p.m.

### APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON H.R. 1, TAX CUTS AND JOBS ACT

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 1 of rule XXII, and by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means, I offer a motion.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BRADY of Texas moves that the House take from the Speaker's table the bill, H.R. 1, with the Senate amendment thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment, and request a conference with the Senate thereon.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support this motion to go to conference on the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, and I urge my colleagues to join me in voting to advance this progrowth, profamily tax reform legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the motion.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BRADY).

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 222, nays 192, not voting 19, as follows:

[Roll No. 653]

### YEAS—222

Abraham	Franks (AZ)	McCarthy
Aderholt	Frelinghuysen	McCaul
Allen	Gaetz	McClintock
Amodei	Gallagher	McHenry
Arrington	Garrett	McKinley
Babin	Gianforte	McMorris
Bacon	Gibbs	Rodgers
Banks (IN)	Gohmert	McSally
Barletta	Goodlatte	Meadows
Barr	Gosar	Meehan
Barton	Gowdy	Messer
Bergman	Granger	Mitchell
Biggs	Graves (GA)	Moolenaar
Bilirakis	Graves (LA)	Mooney (WV)
Bishop (MI)	Graves (MO)	Mullin
Black	Griffith	Newhouse
Blackburn	Grothman	Noem
Blum	Guthrie	Norman
Bost	Handel	Nunes
Brady (TX)	Harper	Olson
Brat	Harris	Palazzo
Brooks (AL)	Hartzler	Palmer
Brooks (IN)	Hensarling	Paulsen
Buck	Herrera Beutler	Pearce
Bucshon	Hice, Jody B.	Perry
Budd	Higgins (LA)	Pittenger
Burgess	Hill	Poe (TX)
Byrne	Holding	Poliquin
Calvert	Hollingsworth	Posey
Carter (GA)	Hudson	Ratcliffe
Carter (TX)	Huizenga	Reed
Chabot	Hultgren	Reichert
Cheney	Hunter	Rice (SC)
Coffman	Hurd	Roby
Cole	Issa	Roe (TN)
Collins (GA)	Jenkins (KS)	Rogers (AL)
Collins (NY)	Jenkins (WV)	Rogers (KY)
Comer	Johnson (LA)	Rohrabacher
Comstock	Johnson (OH)	Rooney, Francis
Conaway	Johnson, Sam	Rooney, Thomas J.
Cook	Jordan	Ros-Lehtinen
Costello (PA)	Joyce (OH)	Roskam
Cramer	Katko	Ross
Crawford	Kelly (MS)	Rothfus
Culberson	Kelly (PA)	Rouzer
Curbelo (FL)	King (IA)	Royle (CA)
Davidson	Kinzinger	Russell
Davis, Rodney	Knight	Rutherford
Denham	Kustoff (TN)	Sanford
Dent	Labrador	Schweikert
DeSantis	LaHood	Scott, Austin
DesJarlais	LaMalfa	Sensenbrenner
Diaz-Balart	Lamborn	Sessions
Duffy	Lance	Shimkus
Duncan (SC)	Latta	Shuster
Duncan (TN)	Lewis (MN)	Simpson
Dunn	Long	Smith (MO)
Emmer	Loudermilk	Smith (NE)
Estes (KS)	Lucas	Smith (TX)
Farenthold	Luetkemeyer	Smucker
Faso	MacArthur	Stefanik
Ferguson	Marchant	Stivers
Fitzpatrick	Marino	Taylor
Fleischmann	Marshall	Tenney
Fortenberry	Massie	Thompson (PA)
Fox	Mast	

Thornberry  
Tiberi  
Tipton  
Trott  
Turner  
Upton  
Valadao  
Wagner  
Walberg

Walden  
Walker  
Walorski  
Walters, Mimi  
Weber (TX)  
Webster (FL)  
Wenstrup  
Westerman  
Williams

Wilson (SC)  
Wittman  
Womack  
Woodall  
Yoder  
Yoho  
Young (AK)  
Young (IA)

## NAYS—192

Adams  
Aguilar  
Amash  
Barragán  
Bass  
Bera  
Beyer  
Bishop (GA)  
Blumenauer  
Blunt Rochester  
Bonamici  
Boyle, Brendan  
F.  
Brady (PA)  
Brown (MD)  
Brownley (CA)  
Bustos  
Butterfield  
Capuano  
Carbajal  
Cárdenas  
Carson (IN)  
Cartwright  
Castor (FL)  
Castro (TX)  
Chu, Judy  
Cicilline  
Clark (MA)  
Clarke (NY)  
Clay  
Cleaver  
Clyburn  
Cohen  
Connolly  
Cooper  
Correa  
Costa  
Courtney  
Crist  
Crowley  
Cuellar  
Cummings  
Davis (CA)  
Davis, Danny  
DeFazio  
DeGette  
Delaney  
DeLauro  
DelBene  
Demings  
DeSaulnier  
Deutch  
Dingell  
Doggett  
Donovan  
Doyle, Michael  
F.  
Ellison  
Engel  
Eshoo  
Españillat  
Esty (CT)  
Evans  
Foster  
Frankel (FL)  
Fudge

Gabbard  
Gallego  
Garamendi  
Gomez  
Gonzalez (TX)  
Gottheimer  
Green, Al  
Green, Gene  
Grijalva  
Hanabusa  
Hastings  
Heck  
Higgins (NY)  
Himes  
Hoyer  
Huffman  
Jackson Lee  
Jayapal  
Jeffries  
Johnson (GA)  
Johnson, E. B.  
Jones  
Kaptur  
Keating  
Kelly (IL)  
Khanna  
Kildee  
Kilmer  
Kind  
King (NY)  
Krishnamoorthi  
Kuster (NH)  
Langevin  
Larsen (WA)  
Larson (CT)  
Lawrence  
Lawson (FL)  
Lee  
Levin  
Lewis (GA)  
Lieu, Ted  
Lipinski  
LoBiondo  
Lofgren  
Lowenthal  
Lowey  
Lujan Grisham,  
M.  
Luján, Ben Ray  
Lynch  
Maloney,  
Carolyn B.  
Maloney, Sean  
Matsui  
McCollum  
McEachin  
McGovern  
McNerney  
Meeks  
Meng  
Moore  
Moulton  
Murphy (FL)  
Nadler  
Napolitano  
Neal

Nolan  
Norcross  
O'Halleran  
O'Rourke  
Pallone  
Panetta  
Pascarell  
Payne  
Pelosi  
Perlmutter  
Peters  
Peterson  
Pingree  
Polis  
Price (NC)  
Raskin  
Rice (NY)  
Richmond  
Rosen  
Roybal-Allard  
Ruiz  
Ruppersberger  
Rush  
Ryan (OH)  
Sánchez  
Sarbanes  
Schakowsky  
Schiff  
Schneider  
Schradner  
Scott (VA)  
Scott, David  
Serrano  
Sewell (AL)  
Shea-Porter  
Sherman  
Sinema  
Sires  
Slaughter  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (WA)  
Soto  
Speier  
Suozi  
Swalwell (CA)  
Takano  
Thompson (CA)  
Thompson (MS)  
Titus  
Tonko  
Torres  
Tsongas  
Vargas  
Veasey  
Vela  
Velázquez  
Visclosky  
Wasserman  
Schultz  
Waters, Maxine  
Watson Coleman  
Welch  
Wilson (FL)  
Yarmuth  
Zeldin

## NOT VOTING—19

Beatty  
Bishop (UT)  
Bridenstine  
Buchanan  
Conyers  
Curtis  
Flores

Gutiérrez  
Kennedy  
Kihuen  
Loeb sack  
Love  
Pocan  
Quigley

Renacci  
Rokita  
Scalise  
Stewart  
Walz

□ 1904

Mses. JAYAPAL, WILSON of Florida, and Mr. THOMPSON of California changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Messrs. MEADOWS, DESJARLAIS, MASSIE, BIGGS, NORMAN, BUDD, BUCK, GOSAR, JORDAN, and HARRIS changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the motion was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea" on rollcall No. 653.

## MOTION TO INSTRUCT

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I have a motion to instruct at the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to instruct.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Neal moves that the managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the Senate amendment to the bill H.R. 1 be instructed to—

(1) disagree with section 11081 of the Senate amendment (relating to elimination of shared responsibility payment for individuals failing to maintain minimum essential coverage), and

(2) recede from section 1303 of the House bill (relating to repeal of deduction for certain taxes not paid or accrued in a trade or business).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 7 of rule XXII, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BRADY) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts.

## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 4 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, this could be a long few days if they can't agree on a motion to go to conference. That is not exactly the most heightened controversy we have.

Mr. Speaker, I want to stand in support of the Democratic motion to instruct conferees on the Ryan-McConnell tax package and in strong opposition to the Republican tax plan.

Behind me is a replica of the national debt clock. This clock was just reconfigured. New features have been added just in time for the Republicans to acknowledge that they are about to add \$1 trillion to this national debt clock, which they tortured Democratic Presidents on for years about the debt.

So let me provide you with some historical perspective. In January of 2001, when Bill Clinton said good-bye, we were looking at a \$5.4 trillion surplus, four straight balanced budgets, and record economic growth. The CBO said that the surplus might even go beyond \$5.6 trillion.

But what really happened during that period of time?

After the Bush administration left, we were staring at \$6.1 trillion worth of debt.

So what happened?

In 2001, the Republican Party cut taxes by \$1.3 trillion and said it was all about economic growth. Then they came back in 2003 and said: Well, the growth hasn't been substantial enough, so we are going to cut taxes by another \$1 trillion, \$2.3 trillion of tax cuts, and a repatriation tax holiday where the money is returned at 5.25 percent on the promise of economic growth and job creation; none of which happened.

So where are we tonight?

We are back to the same old pattern and playbook that they continue to utilize. They promised job growth. In a meeting with the President recently, he said he didn't understand why we couldn't have job growth of 4, 5, or 6 percent. I don't know an economist who thinks we are going to have 6 percent economic growth, but they use that as the linchpin, the excuse for a tax cut that is going to add \$1 trillion to the budget deficits, all based on the following economic assumption: maybe.

Maybe we will have growth that will help us to pay down the debt. All of the mainstream economists say maybe a return of one-third on the tax cuts in terms of revenue. Joint Committee on Taxation, The Wharton School, the Tax Policy Center, moodys.com, they all say the same thing: None of this is going to happen.

So we are also back to a familiar argument that they hear, and I think you should pay some attention to this for the moment.

They will say things repeatedly like: It is the people's money. The people know what to do with it.

Well, let me say this as well tonight: It is the people's veterans hospitals; one million new veterans after Iraq and Afghanistan who are going to be in need of long-term care. That is the people's responsibility.

In addition, 10,000 baby boomers retire every single day in America. Social Security is part of their retirement system, even as it averages about \$15,000 for American citizens.

We are going to live longer, and we herald that achievement regularly, but it is also going to mean more Alzheimer's and more dementia that families are going to have to reconcile, and they are going to come back and say at the right moment: Oh, because there is less revenue, we are going to have to have cuts in social spending.

So they are going to say at the right moment: Oh, we are going to have to now change the way we calculate Medicare and Social Security.

This is a missed opportunity above everything else. Everybody agrees on what is wrong with the Tax Code.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself an additional 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, there was a chance here to do some investment in human capital: community colleges, vocational education, internship programs. The

Labor Department reported 3 weeks ago, 6 million jobs go unanswered in America every single day.

I hope tonight, as the Republicans confer, they can tell us where they are actually conferring because, between the paste and the bubble gum, they keep putting on a new dimension to their proposal.

This should be a debate that included both parties. Before I reserve my time, for the moment, I want to say this: We had a chance to really do something big. They have, unbelievably, proposed to take the entire revenue architecture of this country in 3 weeks without one hearing, without one witness. They are going to change it all, and the middle class is about to get it in the neck to take care of people at the top.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I rise in strong opposition to the motion to instruct. Today, we are moving to the crucial final stage in delivering once-in-a-generation tax reform to the American people. The choice we face now is clear.

Do we want to stick with this complex, costly, unfair system that, today, caters to special interests and drives American jobs overseas?

Do we want to stick with the slow-growth Tax Code that keeps our economy in second gear and all but guarantees rising debt and deficits?

Or do we think it is time to go in a new direction? Do we think it is finally time to provide our workers, our families, and our job creators with a Tax Code that is simple, that is fair, that is built to create jobs and leapfrog America back into the lead pack around the world?

□ 1915

Do we think it is time to get our economy growing again, I mean, truly growing, where better jobs, bigger paychecks, and more opportunity are available to people throughout this country?

Many in Washington say they support tax reform, yet every argument we hear is about keeping taxes higher, keeping the growth of jobs and paychecks lower, and keeping more of this broken Tax Code that is so complex and so unfair to everyday Americans.

It almost seems too many in Congress are rooting against a growing and prosperous American economy. Too many who claim to be concerned about the deficit today joyfully added trillions of dollars to the national deficit when it meant Washington could spend more.

When our friends on the other side took control of the House, in the first year, they doubled the deficit. In the second year, they tripled the deficit. They then went on a roll of \$1 trillion of more debt every year. In fact, they voted for a \$1 trillion stimulus, absolutely unpaid for, that did nothing to

grow the economy. That was when Washington could spend. But now, when it comes to letting families and our Main Street businesses spend more of their own hard-earned money, all of a sudden they say “no.”

Come on.

If you ask my constituents in Texas, they will tell you, without a doubt, it is time to go in a new direction. It is time to be progrowth. It is time to leave this slow-growth status quo behind us for good.

Without a doubt, my constituents and so many Americans throughout our country are rooting for a healthier, stronger economy and a simpler, fairer Tax Code that allows them to keep more of their hard-earned money. That is why, right now, it is time for us to come together in a conference committee and finalize the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act for the American people.

When the Ways and Means Committee started working on tax reform over 6 years ago, we knew this road would be long and difficult. We have had our share of ups and downs along the way, but we stuck with it because we knew the American people were counting on us. We know they are counting on us now.

So, with this conference committee, we are going to come together to give the American people the best of what our two bills have to offer. At every step, we are going to ask ourselves:

How can we truly deliver the Tax Code Americans deserve?

How do we drive rates lower for families?

How do we encourage more investment in job creation on Main Street?

How do we bring jobs back to America from overseas?

How can we better support parents and students and homeowners and retirees?

How can we make our economy stronger and healthier than ever?

How can we improve lives across our country?

We have all worked hard to get to this point in the process. I am proud of the bill we have delivered in the House, and I want to congratulate the Senate as well.

Right now, we are closer than ever to delivering on our tax reform promise to the American people, but some of our most important work is still ahead of us.

Now is the time for us to dig deep on behalf of the people we were sent here to serve. Now is the time for us to come together in a conference committee and unite behind one historic tax cut bill that will help Americans in all walks of life.

This truly is the moment and the opportunity that we and so many Americans have worked for and waited for and deserve. Now is the time to seize it. Working truly together, I am confident we will.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to oppose this motion to instruct that kills tax reform, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN), who announced this past weekend that he is going to leave this institution. He has served this institution with distinction and grace for a long period of time.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the committee says: Come together.

You have done it alone. You have snubbed your nose at the American people as well as the process of this institution.

The GOP tax bill combines the Republicans' long-term faith in trickle-down economics with a new, brazen disregard for the facts that have become the hallmark of the Trump Presidency.

This bill is mostly about cutting taxes for the very wealthy, not the middle class. Making the very wealthy even richer is not the path to broad-based economic prosperity and growth. Tax cuts for the very top do not pay for themselves; instead, they increase the debt. These are the facts that have been presented by the Joint Committee on Taxation, and so many others have called the Republican bill a boondoggle and delusional.

Republicans say the facts be damned as they rush this legislation out of desperation, not deliberation.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would point out that a family of four in Michigan's Ninth District will save over \$1,700 each and every year.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ROSKAM), the chairman of the Tax Policy Subcommittee and a leader on the tax reform effort.

Mr. ROSKAM. Mr. Speaker, I direct the membership's attention to an argument the ranking member made a couple of minutes ago where he criticized repatriation efforts in the past. He is right; they underperformed.

Why did they underperform?

They were a holiday. It was temporary. So we learned from that. I wasn't around when it happened, but we have learned from that, Mr. Speaker, and we are saying let's not do that again. Let's have a permanent policy that unlocks American dollars that are locked out overseas right now. Most folks think it is between \$3 trillion and \$4 trillion that can come back home.

Where does that come back home?

It will come to the Sixth Congressional District of Illinois. It will go to Massachusetts. It will go to Texas. It will go to all of these places to be reinvested.

Why?

This is a dynamic, vibrant economy that can become better. This is an attractive place. We just need to make it better.

The other argument that he made, essentially, is: Look, is this really going to create growth?

He is right to point out that not all tax cuts are created equal as it relates to growth. The whole purpose, though,

is not simply growth. It is also tax relief.

I have got a constituency that got jammed by Democrats in the Illinois General Assembly this year with a massive tax hike on the middle-income folks in Illinois. They need relief. So part of this is to offer relief.

The way that we have approached this is to say let's create this as it relates to the investment and expensing. If you look at the Tax Foundation and the nonpartisan work that they have done, they will tell you, that investment that we are making—that is, throwing away depreciation schedules and telling small businesses, if you invest, you can write it all off in year one—that creates activity.

So, we ought to shed and shun this motion to instruct and, instead, let's work through the normal conference process.

Mr. Speaker, in closing, let me give you one quick anecdote. A manufacturer in my district told me this. They are planning to invest \$30 million in their manufacturing plant. Next year, if we do this bill, they are not going to invest \$30 million in that facility; they are going to invest \$50 million.

That is one company in one cul-de-sac in one subdivision in suburban Chicago. If you ripple that throughout the entire economy, great things happen.

Vote "no" on the motion, and let's proceed to conference.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT), a valued member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, more than a bill, this is a lie wrapped in lies, a sneak attack on America ramming through here at warp speed before the truth catches up with the lies. A very thin sugarcoating of tax changes for some in the middle class conceals massive special interest giveaways.

But I am convinced that the reckoning will come. Americans will demand accountability for a scheme that showers its benefits overwhelmingly on corporations and those at the top of the economic ladder, including the Trump family personally benefiting.

The reckoning will come when students and the sick find out they are paying not less taxes, but more taxes, under this bill.

The reckoning will come as Republicans use the huge debt burden that they are deliberately creating by this bill as an excuse to cut Medicare, educational opportunities, and other vital investments.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman from Texas an additional 30 seconds.

Mr. DOGGETT. This sham of a bill provides rewards to corporate tax dodgers and creates a giant new loophole for outsourcing American jobs abroad.

The only coming together here is the coming together between the master of distraction, the big tweet down the

street, who is joined here by the masters of deceit in Congress. They ignore any wrong he commits. He can embrace child molesters; he can attack our law enforcement officers; he can challenge the very basis of the free press in our country, using any means necessary, whatever deception, to try to foist off this sham of a bill on America.

It should be rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to refrain from engaging in personalities toward the President.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would note that the average family of four making \$59,000 a year in the 35th District of Texas will see a tax cut of over \$1,100.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. REED), a key leader of the Ways and Means Committee who knows what it is like to create jobs in New York.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman BRADY for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, before I get into my speech this evening, I just want to take a moment.

I just heard a colleague on the other side of the aisle call me, essentially, a master of deceit. This country is sick and tired of this type of divisive rhetoric. I am here to tell you that it is time to put the American people first.

I understand that we sit sometimes in this Chamber in the biggest political theater in the United States of America, but at some point in time I have got to say enough is enough.

To my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, I would ask us and the American people back home to look at the legislation that we have done in the committee.

The bottom line, in the House bill, hardworking taxpayers in my district are going to see \$1,600 of their hard-earned dollars remain in their pocket with the government not taking that money away from them.

There are differences between the House bill and the Senate bill. I think there are legitimate parts to the Senate bill we should consider in this conference committee that we are going to entertain here very shortly. They are things like the medical expense deduction, things like, potentially, the historic tax credit. But that is how legislation is drafted. We have a body in the Senate, we have a body in the House, and we come together to put the best product forward for the American people.

I will tell you, as I have heard from my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, if reducing taxes is not a part of economic growth, then you disagree with every Governor in the United States of America, because every Governor's economic development plan across this country, what does it do?

You see the commercials as you travel around this country: Come to New York State; we are open for business because we have lowered our taxes for opportunities and growth. I see it in Il-

linois. I see it in California. I see it in Texas.

So what we have done with the proposal in the House is exactly that. We have focused relief on hardworking taxpayers, and we have lowered the tax burden overall so that people can invest in their businesses, invest in their families, and grow the economy, which, at the end of the day, do you know what that means for an American person?

It means more money for them, but, most importantly, it means a job—a job not only to make money, but it is good for the soul. It is good for the heart. It brings you pride in knowing that you did an honest day's work to get an honest day's amount of pay. That is what growth is about. It is not about numbers. It is about people and opportunity.

I ask my colleagues, join us in rejecting this motion to instruct, and let's get to the business of the people and finish the job once and for all.

□ 1930

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON), a valued member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this motion.

The underlying bill raises taxes on millions of middle class working Americans; it adds over \$2.3 trillion to our national debt; and if the Senate has its way, 13 million people will lose their healthcare.

This bill was written behind closed doors by a handful of Republicans to give massive permanent tax breaks to corporations at the cost of our middle class working Americans. Not one legislative hearing was held in the House on this bill. The Senate bill was passed in the dark hours of the night with scribbles in the margins.

Every single person in our country should know how their Member of Congress voted on this, because you and your children will be paying for it for decades to come.

This is a bad bill. I hope this will be a serious conference to improve this reckless piece of legislation.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would point out that the average family of four in the Fifth District of California will see a tax cut of over \$2,370.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. RICE), a key leader of tax reform who has a terrific accounting and business background.

Mr. RICE of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the American Dream is what separates us from the rest of the world. It promises that, with hard work and determination, you can improve your station in life and that your children have the opportunity for a better life than yours; but for many in the generation coming of age in the past decade, the American Dream has been a little tarnished, just out of reach.

The last time we did tax reform was 30 years ago. At that time, we were the world's uncontested economic leader, our economic system and Tax Code were competitive; but for decades, we have sat idly as the world restructured to pass us by.

As we became less competitive, more and more American companies and American jobs left our shores. What has been the result? We have lost millions of middle class jobs.

In 1990, the middle class comprised 50 percent of American families, today only 40 percent. Today the middle class makes just about the same take-home pay as they did in 1990, 27 years later.

When we all worry about income disparity and the gulf between the rich and the poor in this country, this is the source of the problem. The American middle class is smaller and has not had a raise in 30 years.

How could this happen? It has everything to do with this bloated, overregulating, and overtaxing Federal Government, a government that sucks the life out of the economy and forces our companies, our innovators, and our job creators out of the country to survive.

Some folks say it doesn't matter that we have the highest business tax rate in the world; that is not why companies left. They say those jobs aren't coming back.

Well, I say the outdated Tax Code is an anchor around the neck of American business, our innovators, and our American middle class. I say the American worker can compete with anyone on a level playing field if we just get government out of the way.

Since January, we have been working to correct that. We have made dramatic steps in reducing regulation, and you are already seeing the economic lift.

Today we continue to advance a tax cut which will restore economic growth, put more take-home pay into the pockets of hardworking Americans, and restore opportunity for a generation. It will bring American jobs back to America, which will grow our middle class, and finally, after 30 years, give the middle class the pay raise it deserves.

If you really wish to grow the economy, you should support this tax reform package. If you really wish to give the middle class a raise, you should support tax reform. If you really wish to reduce income disparity, you should support this tax reform package. If you really wish to give hope to Americans who have given up and left the workforce, and reduce crime and addiction in this country, you should support this tax reform package. If you want America to have the economic strength to remain a force of peace and stability in the world, you should support this tax reform package.

Finally, if you support the American Dream, you should support this tax reform package.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Con-

necticut (Mr. LARSON), a neighbor and a good friend.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I will submit for the RECORD at a later time a notice from both the comptroller and the commissioner of Revenue Services for the State of Connecticut, who notes that a married family with a kid in college would see a \$767 tax increase next year and a \$1,667 increase in the year 2027.

Mr. Speaker, we have already protested what we think about this bill, what they have done to this process, the stain that this is on this institution.

1986 has been cited. No public hearings. We had 30 hearings, 12 subcommittee hearings, 456 witnesses. We have none, and now you do a bill in double secret probation. You make Dean Wormer look good from "Animal House". This is what is wrong with this process here today.

The cruelest cut is that you perpetrate a \$25 billion cut in Medicare that you don't even have to vote on. That is the worst cut. Talk about a cowardly act in the night: a \$25 billion cut to our seniors. No wonder the AARP has spoken out so strongly against it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All Members are reminded that they should address their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to remind the House that a family of four in Connecticut's First District will see a tax cut of \$3,858 each and every year.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SCHWEIKERT), a new member and a key member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, before I start, what I wanted to share is I have been blessed to be on the Ways and Means Committee now for 11 months. I have found the members on the left, the right, a group of folks with pretty high IQs. It is a smart bunch. We have different views, even within our own, within your own, but it is fascinating. It is joyful to be on a committee where when you do argue with each other, particularly when we have conversations in the back, they happen at a fairly high level.

Can I give you sort of a personal global view of how I am viewing this tax reform? I truly believe this will be the single biggest, most important vote I make in my life.

We all know what status quo is. Status quo, in many of the models, basically says, in about 15, 18 years, we hit a debt crisis. Are we arguing here for status quo or our change, or are we having an argument here that you don't like our changes, but you also agree we need to have a revolution in our economic growth?

If we build our lives as it is set right now with a 1.8, 1.9 percent GDP growth

for the next three decades, my 2-year-old's future is miserable. Those very seniors whom someone was just speaking about, do you understand what happens to those earned entitlements? There is no money. We hit a debt crisis. We are just a few years away from publicly held debt equaling the size of our entire economy.

If you love people, if you care about this country keeping its promises, we have got to grow. We have seen the attempts at sort of managed economy, managed control, managed targeted.

How about something much more elegant: let's make us competitive in the world again; let's get rid of all the lobbyist-created little special deals in the Tax Code, or as many as we can politically, and do everything we can to get this economy growing.

Yes, it is going to require more, in my view of the world, than tax reform. We are going to have to deal with immigration, we are going to have to deal with technology, we are going to have to deal with regulation, but we all know around here that if we do not have a revolution in this Tax Code, our future is pretty dark.

With economic growth, our future is actually really bright. When you see the Atlanta Fed telling us, just in anticipation of tax reform, we have crossed 3½ percent GDP growth right now, maybe that 1.8 percent misery of economic growth isn't our future, isn't the future for my little girl, isn't the future for every American, but it is an opportunity for this country to start looking as it should: a land of opportunity.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER), a particular champion of all renewable energy forms.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, I listen to my friend from Arizona, and I wonder what planet he is on. He is concerned about his little 2-year-old, yet they finance the largest transfer of wealth in our Nation's history by adding more debt on the backs of his children, our grandchildren, and generations to come.

They want the public to have more of their money, yet they are not supporting our motion to instruct that would stop this notion that we are going to jack up premium prices 10 percent a year by destabilizing the insurance markets, the notion of these ugly surprises that the lobbyists have snuck in, and we will find out about them every single week going forward.

Reject this misguided approach. Let's work together.

Rebuild and renew America? The States can raise a gas tax. We refuse to acknowledge a straightforward proposition to do that here.

Let's reject this atrocity.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would note that a family of four in Oregon's Third District will see tax savings of \$2,256.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PASCRELL), a very important member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. PASCRELL. Mr. Speaker, the President himself will see a financial windfall. If the majority wasn't helping him hide his tax returns, the American people could see the truth.

The bill exacerbates dramatic and historic health inequality, wealth inequality. Adding \$1.5 trillion to our national debt, as this bill does, without benefiting the middle and working class is legislative malpractice.

So while Republicans tout this as a middle class tax cut, some taxpayers at every income level will pay more on this bill. A middle-aged married couple with no children earning \$80,900 a year who itemize could end up paying \$4,330 more in 2018. Many of my constituents will see a big tax increase after losing the full State and local tax deduction. That is absurd.

The authors of this bill said all of the individual tax cuts will expire after 2025, as well as change the measure of inflation, which will slowly bump taxpayers into higher income brackets. Are we kidding, and who are we kidding?

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, that family of four in New Jersey's Ninth District making \$90,000 a year, two workers, will see a tax cut of \$2,044.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY), a member of the leadership of the Democratic Party. I think he is going to tell us about what the elimination of the State and local tax deduction means to the people of New York.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I want to point out to my colleague and friend from Texas that the specifics he is talking about are temporary as they are applied to personal income tax, but they are permanent for corporations. All of your tax cuts are permanent for the corporate world, but not for individuals.

He talks about a family of four. Take it for \$1,100 a year, divide it by four, it is \$250.

□ 1945

They are going to borrow \$1.5 trillion. Divide it by 300 million, and that is \$5,000 per American. Do the math. They are spending the future of our country to give the biggest tax cut to corporations and the wealthiest—\$4 billion alone to the Trump family. You do this on the backs by double taxation in places like Pennsylvania, New York, California, and New Jersey, where you are double taxing through the SALT provision, State and local taxes.

This is going to have an incredible impact on the lives of your constituents. How anyone with a conscience on

the Republican side of the aisle could support this bill in California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and all the other tax States in this country is unconscionable.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded that they should direct their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that the median family of four in New York's 14th District making \$63,000 a year working hard will see a tax cut of \$1,251.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS), who is a valued member of the Ways and Means Committee. The gentleman is also a great champion of new markets tax credits and the historic tax credit which is eliminated in the Republican tax plan.

Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in every place that I went yesterday, people asked me: What are you going to say to the conferees?

I said that I am going to join with my colleagues and say to the conferees: Help the needy and not the greedy.

I am going to say to the conferees: Why give 50 percent of the tax break to the wealthiest 1 percent of the population in this country?

I am going to say: Why cut Medicare, Medicaid, and provisions of the Affordable Care Act that have kept millions of people from having the agony, pain, and frustration of not being able to find healthcare?

I am going to say: Save the children; save the veterans; save the center cities that are decayed; save the infrastructure; save the safety net; and save America.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to report that that median family of four with two kids in the Seventh District of Illinois making \$73,000 really working hard where every dollar counts will see a tax cut of \$1,546.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. HIGGINS), who is a valued member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. HIGGINS of New York. Mr. Speaker, it has been said by the U.S. Treasury Secretary that tax cuts pay for themselves. He says that not only will these corporate taxes pay for themselves, they will add an additional \$2 trillion in economic activity. Nobody believes that. There is no credible report that supports that contention.

What do pay for themselves are tax credits, particularly the Federal historic tax credit. That is one that returns generously to the Federal Treasury. The Federal historic tax credit returns more to the Treasury than it costs. In fact, \$25 billion in credits have returned \$29 billion to the Federal Treasury; \$5 of private investment is made for every dollar in the Federal historic tax credit program.

Nationally, \$132 billion in private investment has been made because of \$25 million in Federal historic tax credits. Over 43,000 buildings in downtown areas like my community of Buffalo, New York, have benefited tremendously from this valuable program.

It is eliminated in the House bill; it is eliminated in the Senate bill; and the conference should restore it as an issue of fairness.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to report that that median family of four making \$74,000, blue-collar workers in the 26th District of New York, will see a tax cut of \$1,562.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Alabama (Ms. SEWELL), who is a great champion of the middle class and a Marshall Scholar.

Ms. SEWELL of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, we are not ready for conference. The Senate bill was written by lobbyists in the dead of night when Republicans hoped no one was paying attention. There was no CBO score, no debate, no time to even read the bill, and now the majority thinks this bill is ready to go to conference? Really? Not.

The House and Senate bills will put us at least \$1.4 trillion into debt, will cause cuts to Social Security and Medicare, and will raise taxes on 82 million Americans.

Mr. Speaker, this is a bad deal for Americans, and it is an even worse deal for my constituents in Alabama. In my State of Alabama, over 500,000 families making \$80,000 a year or less will see a tax increase. It will result in \$205 million being taken away from teachers and students, and it will put \$168 million in charitable donations at risk.

These bills are not for the middle class. These bills will do enormous damage to the middle class.

Mr. Speaker, we are not ready for conference.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would point out that the median family of four making \$65,000 in Alabama's Seventh District would see a tax cut of \$1,311.

I would also point out that the Congressional Budget Office doesn't score a tax reform bill. That is the Joint Committee on Taxation. That score was available to Ways and Means Committee members the day we voted on this bill and available, again, to House Members before we approved it as well.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from Washington (Ms. DELBENE).

Ms. DELBENE. Mr. Speaker, over the past few weeks, Republicans have been cutting backroom deals that benefit the wealthy and well-connected out of the light of day, piling hurt onto people who won't be able to speak for themselves.

Now we are on the verge of being force-fed a bill in which corporations



get massive tax cuts while hard-working Americans are forced to pick up the tab. Over the life of the Ryan-McConnell plan, 36 million middle class families struggling to pay for healthcare, education, childcare, housing, and retirement are going to see their taxes go up. Now millions may lose healthcare coverage as well.

What happened to fiscal responsibility?

Economists are telling us that the increased debt won't be paid for by economic growth, and CEOs are openly sharing their plans to reward their shareholders with their new tax breaks—not create jobs.

This bill is reckless, and I urge my colleagues to support this motion.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I point out that a median family of four with two kids in Washington's First District will see a tax cut of \$5,008.

I would also remind my colleagues that President Obama raised the national debt by \$9 trillion in new Washington spending.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. SÁNCHEZ), who is a distinguished member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Ms. SÁNCHEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to ask a simple question: What is the rush? Why are we rushing to vote on a \$1.7 trillion tax bill that will end up being paid off the backs of working Americans?

Don't be fooled. Working Americans will pay for this bill. That is why the National Association of Realtors warned that the typical homeowner in my State could see their home value drop between \$37,000 and \$57,000. That is why the Joint Committee on Taxation has said the Republican bill would increase costs to college students and their families by \$71 billion.

We all know whose retirement Republicans will raid when their overly optimistic growth numbers don't materialize. They are going to go after your Medicare and Social Security.

The American people deserve better than this Republican tax scam. Instead of rushing to get this done, let's work together to get it done right.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would point out that that hardworking family of four in California's 38th District would see a tax cut of \$1,870.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. JUDY CHU), who is the former revenue commissioner of California and who knows something about revenue projections.

Ms. JUDY CHU of California. Mr. Speaker, this tax scam is one of the greatest cons I have seen in my time in Congress, and Republicans know it. Why else would they rush to vote without giving the public time to review or understand legislation that impacts 100

percent of our economy? In the Senate, they even shattered regular order to pass this bill with handwritten, illegible changes in the dead of night on Saturday. Perhaps it is because they don't want anybody to see how far this bill strays from their promises.

They promised historic tax cuts, but unless you are already rich or a corporation already seeing record profits, you are unlikely to benefit. Instead, you and your children will be paying to make the rich richer.

Republicans don't even deny that individuals get less than corporations. But it is okay, they claim, because that money will get to you eventually. They keep citing these magical numbers of money that you will get, but we know these dollars won't come.

Whether losing deductions for State and local taxes, paying more for student loans, or facing higher healthcare prices, thanks to the repeal of the mandate, the GOP tax scam will hurt millions.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would point out that that hardworking family of four in the 27th District of California will see a tax cut of \$2,249.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. KELLY), who is a key member of our Tax Policy Subcommittee and a businessperson himself.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I wasn't going to speak tonight because I was just trying to figure out what it is that we are trying to get here and if it is always going to be the same thing as if it is not our bill, just not the bill we want.

When we talk about a rush to judgment, for 31 years, we have postponed the inevitable. We no longer can compete globally because of our corporate tax rates and the regulations.

Our people—and I don't care if they are Republican voters or Democratic voters or people that don't vote at all—isn't it time to give them a little bit more money in their take-home pay? Isn't it time to let them get up in the morning with an idea that "I can actually be better at the end of the day than when I started"? Isn't it time for us to talk about bringing millions of jobs back to the United States as opposed to sitting here and trying to battle back and forth about something that politically doesn't make any sense?

For the folks who are sitting at home, do they realize how far we are getting away from what we pledged we would do for them: a dynamic and robust economy that allows for more take-home pay, a dynamic and robust economy that allows corporations to flourish and not flounder, and a tax plan that absolutely puts America back where it so deservedly belongs?

With all the assets that we are blessed with, with all the talent that we are blessed with, and with all the opportunity that we are blessed with, can we really think that tonight is the night to turn this into a political bat-

tle, to make one side look good and one side look bad?

Is it always going to be the war on the wealthy? Is it always going to be the war on some entity? Does it have to be some type of identity before we can actually back away and say: Tonight we are going to do something for every single hardworking American?

Please, refrain from using the term "middle class." There is nothing, I think, that flies more in the face of who we aren't as a society than classifying people: "Oh, they are middle class"; "Oh, they are upper class," which leads people to think: "Oh, there must be a lower class."

I am asking, tonight, not for either side of the aisle, but for America to look at what is going on and say: It is not time for us to get back in the game.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN), who is the assistant Democratic leader.

In reference to my friend, Mr. KELLY, Mr. CLYBURN is a real champion of the middle class.

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, let me say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, it is time to do all of those things that he just spoke about, but this piece of legislation does none of those things. In fact, it raises taxes on 87 million middle-income families, cuts \$25 billion a year from Medicare, kicks 13 million people off of their health insurance, makes it easier for companies to ship jobs overseas, eliminates long-held deductions for teachers, students, and the chronically ill, makes individual tax cuts temporary but corporate tax cuts permanent, and increases the deficit by more than \$1.5 trillion.

□ 2000

The hypocrisy of so-called conservatives is staggering. Corporations will save billions and shareholders will get richer, while our children and grandchildren foot the bill.

The Democratic motion would instruct conferees to protect deductions for State and local taxes and restore the Affordable Care Act's individual mandate. Doing so will stop 13 million Americans from losing their health insurance and put a halt to the 10 percent premium hike that CBO estimates the Ryan-McConnell tax scam would cause.

Mr. Speaker, the individual mandate is at the heart of the Affordable Care Act. Repealing it—as the GOP tax scam does—is a deliberate attempt to undercut the law, create chaos in the health insurance marketplaces, increase premiums, and decrease choice and coverage.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to restore State and local tax deductibility and the individual mandate.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I point out that a middle class family

making \$74,000, in the Fifth District of South Carolina, will see a tax cut of \$1,568.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), one of the best legislators in the House, the Democratic whip.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. NEAL for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, as he well knows, is one of my favorite Members. He is a good friend. He is a man of great integrity. But, Mr. Speaker, both the House and Senate bills are bad bills, and this is a sad day in the House.

Hypocrisy is on stark display. Responsibility is absent, and politics—and donors—have subverted policy.

This conference is a sham: an attempt to make it appear that the House and Senate are going through regular order. Sadly, we have not gone through regular order. The thought is we will reconcile the two versions of the dangerous Republican tax increase and deficit bill. I call this a death tax because it will explode the deficit, as happened in 1981, when, under Ronald Reagan for 8 years, we increased the debt of this country 189 percent.

The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee mentions Mr. Obama, who increased it 88 percent, or less than half of the Reagan increase in the debt. And we were promised then, as we are promised now, that cutting these taxes would grow the economy. It would if that were the case.

But there won't be any real regular order in this conference, just as there hasn't been throughout this entire process. There will only be further closed-door, backroom antics by Republican leaders on their own, asking Republican Members to take it or leave it. And this motion to instruct, of course, will be defeated.

But Democrats are offering it because, from the very beginning, we have made clear that we are here to work toward the kind of tax reform that the American people want: tax reform that I worked with in 1986.

And they don't want an elimination of the deduction for State and local taxes, which our motion would instruct the conferees not to do. The deductions for State and local taxes support schools and first responders in our communities, and the American people don't want to kick 13 million people off of their health insurance coverage.

So our motion would instruct conferees to take that dangerous provision out. But no motion to instruct can address all of the ways that the Republican tax bill has put our people, and our future, in danger.

The Senate bill raises taxes on somewhere around 78 million middle class households, not as a pejorative, but as an income spectrum. Why? To offset massive tax cuts for those not with whom we are at war, but who are doing very well and don't need our help.

It plunges our children and grandchildren—of which I have a number—an additional \$1.7 trillion in debt—and I think that is the minimum—making them pay tomorrow for what Republicans refuse to pay for today.

And for what? For what, Mr. Speaker, are we being asked to do all of these things? For economic growth? For jobs?

We know it won't grow our economy in any substantial way faster. Why? Because almost every economist tells us that. And we know that the few jobs the Senate bill would create—and listen to this: that they claim that they will create—will cost \$1.9 million per job.

The vast majority of Americans won't benefit from this plan; but those who are already extremely wealthy will benefit greatly—as a matter of fact, 52 times what the gentleman will tell us.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, there is a saying that Texans like to use: "That dog won't hunt." It doesn't do what it is purported to do. It doesn't take Einstein to predict what will happen this time around, when he defined insanity as "doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results."

I have been here. I have seen this. I have heard this argument. It has always resulted in the same thing.

I have more to say, but my time is up.

Mr. Speaker, let me say to the gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the committee—he is going to tell me how much people in my district get a tax break—tell me about my children and my grandchildren whose debts he will pile on them to borrow money from China, or someplace else, to give this tax cut that they will then have to pay off in their time. Tell me how much my children will have their taxes raised.

He apparently doesn't know. That is sad.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to report that a median, hardworking, middle class family in the Fifth District of Maryland, will see a tax cut of \$4,158.

Mr. Speaker, I will remind everyone here tonight that the first year our Democrats took over the majority in the House, they doubled the deficit. The second year, they tripled the deficit. In the third year, it went above \$1 trillion a year, and it stayed there until Republicans took control of the House. My friends on the other side of the aisle added \$9 trillion to this deficit. But that was when Washington was spending.

Today, we want to give people back control of their money, and, all of a sudden: Whoa, wait a minute. Deficits suddenly matter?

I believe that claim is the hypocrisy in this debate.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, apparently the gentleman forgets the difference between the Clinton years and the Bush years, as it relates to the deficits.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding; and I thank him, and the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, for being committed to the truth: to the facts.

To hear the distinguished chairman of the committee say what he said about the budget is almost ludicrous, almost laughable, if it weren't so serious, in terms of the impact that it has on America's future. He knows that, in the last 4, and maybe even 5, years of the Clinton administration, the budget was in balance or in surplus—the operational budget—and it was on a path to reducing the national debt, until President Bush came in, gave tax cuts to the high end, a giveaway to the pharmaceutical industry with the Medicare part D legislation, and three unpaid for wars.

That is what the experts will tell you increased the deficit that was on a path of the national debt going down. It was a swing, Mr. Speaker, of \$11 trillion: to date, the biggest swing in history.

When President Obama came into office, he was inheriting a deficit—I am not talking about the national debt; I am just talking about the annual deficit—of \$1.4 billion. When he left office, it was about a third of that.

So don't try to mislead the American people. We owe them the truth. We owe them facts. That is why what is happening tonight in this body is so important: the violence that the Republicans are doing with their legislation on the economy of our country, robbing from our children's future to reward the wealthiest people and biggest corporations in America.

Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight to ask my colleagues a simple question: Who do we represent when we come to this floor?

The American people, overwhelmingly, oppose the GOP tax scam—they see it as that—and they are making their voices heard.

The American people are calling the Republican Congress to abandon the House and Senate bills, which pillage the middle class and pad the pockets of big CEOs and GOP donors.

The American people want us to start over and, actually, put the middle class first.

We should be working in a bipartisan way in order to do that, so that it will not only be right, but that it will be sustainable, and that there will be some certainty in our economy that this is a path forward that has bipartisan support.

But have the Republicans in the people's House listened to the American people? No.



Last month, House Republicans voted to raise taxes. In this House, House Republicans voted to raise taxes on 36 million middle class American families: stripping deductions from students and teachers, children and seniors, and homeowners and workers. They kept saying they were going to work it out with the Senate.

Last week, in the dead of night, Senate Republicans voted to raise taxes on 78 million middle class families, while also spiking health premiums, and exploding the ranks of the health uninsured.

Tonight, heading into this conference on the House and Senate bills, Republicans have sent an unmistakable message to middle class America: Pick your poison. Because, with either bill, middle class families lose; the American people lose.

According to an analysis by The Washington Post, the GOP tax scam is “probably the most regressive tax cut in the past 50 years. . . . It is hard to find a tax plan that has done less for the middle class.”

That is what we talked about. Who are we here to represent? Why are they doing this?

Well, they are doing this to give a tax cut to the top 1 percent. Sixty-two percent of the benefits of the Senate bill go to the top 1 percent in our country.

Is that fair, to give nearly \$1.5 trillion in tax cuts to corporate America, while heaping other benefits on them to make it easier for them to send jobs overseas. Why? Well, some of their people have told us why.

Congressman CHRIS COLLINS said: My donors are basically saying, “Get it done or don’t ever call me again.”

Senator LINDSEY GRAHAM has said the “financial contributions will stop,” if the tax scam fails. “Scam” is my added word.

The Director of National Economic Council, Gary Cohn, has said: “The most excited group out there are the big CEOs, about our tax plan.”

This is interesting to see the Freedom Caucus, which I thought was a values-based caucus, committed to reducing the national debt: a debt that is being added to here that we may never recover from.

What happened to the Freedom Caucus? Weren’t they supposed to be deficit hawks? Has that become an endangered species? No. It has become extinct. It does not exist on the Republican side, but it does exist on the Democratic side.

□ 2015

We intend to fight this robbing of the future of increasing the deficit into the trillions of dollars by fighting this bill to the end.

Where are all the Republicans who promised to reduce the deficit?

Where are our Republican colleagues who insist that we have no funds to spare for the healthcare of our children, the education of our young people,

the job-creating infrastructure of the 21st century unless we find offsets?

Yet \$1.5 trillion to corporate America, un-offset; tax cuts to the wealthiest people in our country, un-offset.

That means children have to pay for their healthcare with their immunizations. It is absolutely appalling. It isn’t a statement of values in any way.

Today, quietly, the Republicans—and some of them are admitting it with glee—are sharpening their knives for Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security. Recognizing how they are increasing, they are soaring the national debt, now they have to find some ways to pay for it, so they are coming after Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security. The understanding of some is that it is only a question of whether they do it this year or a following year after the election.

Well, I think you are in a lose-lose situation. I think you lose with your donors if you don’t pass this bill, but you are going to lose with the American people if you do.

Democrats believe that people deserve better. We deserve bipartisanship in how we put this together so it is sustainable. We are offering a better deal, better jobs, better wages, and a better future.

The American people deserve real, bipartisan, permanent tax reform that puts the middle class first.

The truth is that our colleagues either choose to ignore or do not understand the gravity of the situation. As they say in “The Music Man,” this is a terrible assault on the middle class. So tonight, with the Democrats’ motion to instruct conferees, we want the Republicans to show where they stand.

Will Republicans vote “yes” to protect the vital State and local tax deduction that enables people to live in a safe place? Or will they vote to double-tax middle class families, drive down home values, and endangering key funding for firefighters, law enforcement, and schools?

Will Republicans vote to protect the healthcare of those with preexisting conditions?

No, no, no, no, no.

Or will they vote to spike families’ premiums and add 13 million more Americans to the ranks of the uninsured if this bill goes through?

I have said that this, with stiff competition by some of the other things they have put forth, is the worst bill in the history of the United States Congress.

Now, how can I make that claim?

Well, because it involves more money, hurts more people, increases the deficit by so much more. And just because everything is bigger in our country, the consequences of this bill, a multitrillion-dollar economy being addressed by a bill that had no hearings, no expert testimony, just with the speed of light, as JAMIE RASKIN says, the speed of light, in the dark of night, here we are.

Who else thinks this is not a good idea?

This is what the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops has said: “. . . this proposal appears to be the first Federal income tax modification in American history that will raise income taxes on the working poor while simultaneously providing a large tax cut to the wealthy. This is simply unconscionable.”

I believe them.

Let us remember the words of St. Augustine: “A State which is not governed according to justice would be just a bunch of thieves.” He said that 17 centuries ago.

When His Holiness Pope Benedict wrote about this in his first encyclical, *God is Love*, he went on to say: Sometimes you have to work hard to determine what justice is. But in doing so, you must beware of the dazzling blindness of money and power.

Apparently, you did not heed that.

Let us look honestly at the GOP tax scam before us. No justice.

I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to vote “yes” on the motion to instruct conferees, to at least inject some element of fairness and common sense into this destruction, and then to reject this terrible bill.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds.

I would point out that a hardworking middle class family in the 12th District of California will see a tax cut of \$5,508.

I would point out as well that the claim that this is an attack on the middle class and received four Pinocchios is simply untrue by The Washington Post.

And while we are fact-checking, I will remind the American public that President Obama did inherit a deficit. He inherited it from a Democratic House and a Democratic Senate, and then he made it worse.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, might I inquire as to how much time I have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts has 3¼ minutes remaining.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I have no further speakers, and I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, we have heard this discussion back and forth tonight about tax relief for the middle class; and we have heard the other side say that you are going to get \$1,189 for a family of four, I think, making \$59,000 a year.

But what they don’t say is that they are going to take away the State and local tax deduction; they are going to take away the ability of children to deduct interest payments on student debt; that they are going to shave back the mortgage interest deduction; get rid of the historic tax credit; that they are going to get rid of new markets tax credits.

And here is the best one of all: as champions of the middle class they are, they are going to repeal the estate tax.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania, who is my friend, said that we need to stop talking about wealth.

Well, how about approaching it this way? We are wealthy and we are not going to take it anymore, because that is essentially what this argument is about.

When you look at the distribution tables as to who gets what in this tax proposal, the concentration of wealth at the very top is highlighted time and again.

When we talk about tax relief for the middle class, when we examine what this is about to do to California, to New York, to Massachusetts, and to Connecticut, to name, but a few of the States that are going to pay a penalty for this tax plan—

And I dispute fully what the chairman said about the Obama years. Fourteen million jobs were created during the Obama years. Twenty-three million jobs were created during the Clinton years. The day that George Bush left, we were losing 800,000 jobs a month in America. That is the reality.

When you look at economic growth during those years, the 2 percent that we look at was not enough. But it has now been almost 13 years when middle class people have not had a pay raise and, time and again, we have heard the preposterous argument—and, boy, did it get us into trouble—that tax cuts pay for themselves.

You cannot find a mainstream economist that will say that tax cuts pay for themselves.

Now you hear the repeated argument that, if we cut taxes and we add dynamic scoring, based upon what might occur, or maybe, or if, then we are told that this is going to alleviate slow productivity and slow growth in America, all based upon the premise of tax cuts.

You know what we should be doing tonight, Mr. Speaker?

We should be talking about investing in human capital. We should be talking about the 6 million jobs that go unanswered in America every single day. We should be talking about community colleges. We should be talking about the idea of apprenticeship programs and, yes, investing in vocational education. We should be also talking about, finally, what to do about the 2 million people in America who have opiate addictions and don't go to work every day. We should be concerned about the labor participation rate in America.

Instead, the answer always becomes the Holy Grail of Republican economics; cut taxes for the people at the very top, and plead the case that what you are really doing is for people in the middle class.

The alternative minimum tax is devoted to people at the top, and the idea of repealing the estate tax for so few people in America is outrageous.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am prepared to close, and I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this is a clear choice. Opponents of tax reform make this a

clear choice. They stand for business as usual, special interests as usual, losing our U.S. jobs overseas as usual, making it hard for young people coming out of school to find good-paying jobs as usual, and Washington having a greater claim over your earnings than you do as usual. That is what the opponents of tax reform stand for today.

Today is about no more of that. It is time to drain the swamp. It is time to drain this Tax Code. It is time for a fairer and simpler Tax Code that Americans deserve, to close loopholes and special interests and lower tax rates so hardworking Americans can keep more of what they earn.

Say "no" to the swamp. Say "yes" to a new Tax Code and a new era of American prosperity.

I urge a "no" on the motion to instruct.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this Democratic motion, and I thank the Gentleman from Massachusetts for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear that your desperation for a political win is more important than the needs of our nation.

For a few days, you will celebrate this holiday gift for the rich and wealthy. But in January, Mr. Speaker, the bill will come due.

To cover the costs of these tax cuts, you will destroy the hopes and dreams of the American people, of working families, of the young and old, and of generations yet unborn.

Make no mistake, Social Security, Medicare, and CHIP will be on the chopping block cuts. Bipartisan solutions for transportation, affordable housing, and student debt will be out of reach.

And with this tax cut, every single federal program that matters to the American people will be dealt a crippling blow.

Mr. Speaker, you cannot get blood from a turnip, and you cannot justify robbing poor Peter to pay billionaire Paul.

I urge each and every one of my colleagues to remember this moment, to remember this time, and to support this Democratic motion.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the House agreeing to conference with the Senate on their cruel and immoral \$1.7 trillion tax giveaways to wealthy corporations and the top one percent, but as a member of the Budget Committee, I rise in strong support of the Democratic Motion to Instruct Conferees appointed by the House to conference with the Senate on H.R. 1, the so-called "Tax Cut and Jobs Act," which more accurately should be called the "Republican Tax Scam Act."

The Motion to Instruct does two things: first, it directs House conferees to disagree with Section 11081 of the Senate amendment which would eliminate the Affordable Care Act's individual mandate by instructing conferees.

Second, the Motion to Instruct would also oppose eliminating the current tax deduction for state and local property, income, and sales taxes by instructing house conferees to recede from Section 1303 of the House bill.

Instead, we should junk this shameful legislation and start over in a bipartisan manner that provides relief to working and middle

class families, does not increase the deficit, and ensures that the government has the resources needed to make the investments required to keep our country strong, safe, healthy, and economically competitive.

H.R. 1, on the other hand, raises taxes on poor, working, and middle class families; explodes the deficit by adding an additional \$2.2 trillion over ten years; and will require an estimated \$5.4 trillion cut in funding for the programs ordinary Americans depend on for health security, educational opportunity, and economic progress.

Mr. Speaker, in the last several months we have witnessed and borne the brunt of several of the most powerful storms ever recorded, including Hurricanes Harvey, Irma, and Maria.

I remember so well that the President visited Texas and promised the people affected by Hurricane Harvey of his unwavering commitment to provide everything needed to recover.

We need that promise kept now, and approval of this reckless and immoral tax plan will make it virtually impossible to keep the promise.

Residents of Texas who are facing the long road to recovery need at least \$61 billion for home flood mitigation, repair, replacement, and home buyouts.

There are other states with pressing needs related to disaster recovery.

My colleagues across the aisle and the President should understand that the Texas and Florida congressional delegations are in full agreement regarding the need to meet the disaster recovery needs of the states and territories.

There are particular concerns for our seniors who survived the terrible storms that ravaged the Texas Coast, Florida, U.S. Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico because so many of them are alone, while trying to do the difficult and hard job of cleaning out their homes, or removing debris from their yards.

That work is nowhere near done in my State of Texas.

Thousands of families have no home because of the storm, and many more thousands are living in gutted out shells of structures they once called home and too many others are sleeping in cars.

Houston's response to the immediate disaster was impressive and all-encompassing for the size and complexity of the disaster caused by unprecedented flooding due to Hurricane Harvey.

The efforts of Houston Mayor Sylvester Turner and the work of the Public Works Department, Police, and First Responders, as well as Federal and State agencies that were joined by citizen volunteers helped save thousands of lives.

We have communities in Texas that are struggling to find the new normal that FEMA officials warned Texans would need to accept following the historic flood.

The effort is being made difficult by a lack of appreciation by the Administration of the true cost of recovery for Texas, Florida, the U.S. Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico.

FEMA has proven that it is excellent at disaster response, but is showing that they are not very good at recovery management for individuals and families.

The Administration risks a shutdown over not adequately meeting the needs of hurricane impacted areas.

Mr. Speaker, Americans are not fooled; they know trickle-down economics has never worked, and they see right through this phony tax plan and recognize it for the scam that it is.

That is why Americans reject this Republican tax giveaway by an overwhelming 2:1 margin according to a poll released recently by Quinnipiac.

Specifically, 61 percent think the Republican tax scam will benefit the wealthy the most; only 16 percent say the plan will reduce their taxes.

59 percent think it a very bad idea to eliminate the deduction for state and local income taxes.

Nearly half of respondents (49 percent) think it a bad idea to lower the corporate tax rate from 35 percent to 20 percent.

This Republican tax plan is even more toxic to my constituents in the Eighteenth Congressional District of Texas.

Mr. Speaker, as you may know, my constituents and others in Texas are still struggling to recover from the devastation caused by Hurricane Harvey, the worst storm ever to make landfall in the continental United States.

My constituents understand that it is important that the United States has a tax system that is fair, balanced, smart, and provides the resources and opportunities to allow all Americans to reach their potential.

And by margins exceeding 90 percent, they reject:

1. Any cuts to Medicare or Medicaid to finance tax cuts for wealthy corporations and the top 1 percent;
2. Eliminating the mortgage interest deduction;
3. Eliminating the deductibility of state and local taxes;
4. Eliminating existing deductions for student loan interest or making taxable college endowment funds or college fellowships expenses.

Mr. Speaker, the average annual tax cut for the top one-tenth of one percent is \$320,000; for the top one percent it is \$62,000, and for those earning \$1 million a year it is \$68,000.

Nearly 25 percent of the tax cut goes to households in just the top one-tenth of one percent, who make at least \$5 million a year (2027).

While super-wealthy corporations and individuals are reaping windfalls, millions of middle-class and working families will see their taxes go up:

1. 13 million households face a tax increase next year.
2. 45 million households face a tax increase in 2027.
3. 29 million households (21 percent) earning less than \$100,000 a year see a tax increase.

On average, families earning up to \$86,000 annually would see a \$794 increase in their tax liability, a significant burden on families struggling to afford child care and balance their checkbook.

It is shocking, but not surprising, that under this Republican tax scam, the total value of tax cuts for just the top one percent is more than the entire tax cut for the lower 95 percent of earners.

Put another way, those earning more than \$912,000 a year will get more in tax cuts than 180 million households combined.

The core of this Republican tax scheme is a massive tax cut from 35 percent to 20 per-

cent for corporations, but that is not the only way that the wealthy are rewarded.

The massive tax cuts for corporations are permanent but temporary for working and middle-class families.

Another immoral aspect of this terrible tax scam is that it abandons families that face natural disasters or high medical costs by repealing deductions for casualty losses and medical expenses.

Mr. Speaker, in what universe does it make any sense to eliminate, as this bill would, a deduction for:

1. teachers who purchase supplies for their classroom;
2. moving expenses to take a new job and taxes employer-provided moving expenses; or
3. dependent care assistance, making it harder for families to afford day care, nursery school, or care for aging parents?

This Republican tax scam jeopardizes American innovation and competitiveness by eliminating the deduction for student loan interest, which affects 12 million borrowers, and cuts total education assistance by more than \$64 billion.

Under the extraordinary leadership of President Obama and the determined efforts of ordinary Americans, we pulled our way out from under the worst of the foreclosure crisis when the housing bubble burst in 2007.

Inexplicably, Republicans are now championing a tax scheme that will make the homes of average Americans less valuable because deductions for mortgage interest and property taxes are much less valuable than under current law.

A tax plan that reduces home values, as this one does, puts pressure on states and towns to collect revenues they depend on to fund schools, roads, and vital public resources.

Mr. Speaker, the \$5.4 trillion cuts in program investments that will be required to pay for this tax giveaway to wealthy corporations and individuals will fall most heavily on low-income families, students struggling to afford college, seniors, and persons with disabilities.

This tax scam is not a revenue policy adapted for the real world that real Americans live in but a fantasy resting on the monstrous belief that the wealthy have too little money and that poor, working, and middle-class families have too much.

Congressional Republicans continue to cling to the fantasy belief that their tax cuts for the rich will pay for themselves despite all precedent to the contrary and evidence that their tax scheme is projected by experts to lose between \$3 trillion and \$7 trillion.

Mr. Speaker, in evaluating the merits of a taxing system, it is not enough to subject it only to the test of fiscal responsibility.

To keep faith with the nation's past, to be fair to the nation's present, and to safeguard the nation's future, the plan must also pass a "moral test."

The Republican tax bill fails both of these standards.

That is why I support the Democratic Motion to Instruct Conferees, even though I strongly oppose the Motion to Go to Conference on H.R. 1, the "Republican Tax Scam Act."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to instruct.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to instruct.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the yeas appeared to have it.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 186, nays 233, not voting 14, as follows:

[Roll No. 654]

YEAS—186

Adams	Gabbard	Neal
Aguilar	Gallego	Nolan
Barragán	Garamendi	Norcross
Bass	Gomez	O'Halleran
Bera	Gonzalez (TX)	O'Rourke
Beyer	Gottheimer	Pallone
Bishop (GA)	Green, Al	Panetta
Blumenauer	Green, Gene	Pascrell
Blunt Rochester	Grijalva	Payne
Bonamici	Hanabusa	Pelosi
Boyle, Brendan	Hastings	Perlmutter
F.	Heck	Peters
Brady (PA)	Higgins (NY)	Peterson
Brown (MD)	Himes	Pingree
Brownley (CA)	Hoyer	Polis
Bustos	Huffman	Price (NC)
Butterfield	Jackson Lee	Raskin
Capuano	Jayapal	Rice (NY)
Carbajal	Jeffries	Richmond
Cárdenas	Johnson (GA)	Rosen
Carson (IN)	Johnson, E. B.	Roybal-Allard
Cartwright	Kaptur	Ruiz
Castor (FL)	Keating	Rush
Castro (TX)	Kelly (IL)	Ryan (OH)
Chu, Judy	Khanna	Sánchez
Ciulline	Kihuen	Sarbanes
Clark (MA)	Kildee	Schakowsky
Clarke (NY)	Kilmer	Schiff
Clay	Kind	Schneider
Cleaver	Krishnamoorthi	Schrader
Clyburn	Kuster (NH)	Scott (VA)
Cohen	Langevin	Scott, David
Connolly	Larsen (WA)	Serrano
Cooper	Larson (CT)	Sewell (AL)
Correa	Lawrence	Shea-Porter
Costa	Lawson (FL)	Sherman
Courtney	Lee	Sinema
Crist	Levin	Sires
Crowley	Lewis (GA)	Slaughter
Cuellar	Lieu, Ted	Smith (WA)
Cummings	Lipinski	Soto
Davis (CA)	Loebach	Speier
Davis, Danny	Lofgren	Suozi
DeFazio	Lowenthal	Swalwell (CA)
DeGette	Lowey	Takano
Delaney	Lujan Grisham,	Thompson (CA)
DeLauro	M.	Thompson (MS)
DelBene	Luján, Ben Ray	Titus
Demings	Lynch	Tonko
DeSaulnier	Maloney,	Torres
Deutch	Carolyn B.	Tsongas
Dingell	Maloney, Sean	Vargas
Doggett	Matsui	Veasey
Doyle, Michael	McCollum	Vela
F.	McEachin	Velázquez
Ellison	McGovern	Visclosky
Engel	McNerney	Wasserman
Eshoo	Meeks	Schultz
Espallat	Meng	Waters, Maxine
Esty (CT)	Moore	Watson Coleman
Evans	Moulton	Welch
Foster	Murphy (FL)	Wilson (FL)
Frankel (FL)	Nadler	Yarmuth
Fudge	Napolitano	

NAYS—233

Abraham	Bishop (MI)	Burgess
Aderholt	Bishop (UT)	Byrne
Allen	Black	Calvert
Amash	Blackburn	Carter (GA)
Amodeli	Blum	Carter (TX)
Arrington	Bost	Chabot
Babin	Brady (TX)	Cheney
Bacon	Brat	Coffman
Banks (IN)	Brooks (AL)	Cole
Barletta	Brooks (IN)	Collins (GA)
Barr	Buchanan	Collins (NY)
Bergman	Buck	Comer
Biggs	Bucshon	Comstock
Bilirakis	Budd	Conaway

Cook	Johnson (OH)	Roby
Costello (PA)	Johnson, Sam	Roe (TN)
Cramer	Jones	Rogers (AL)
Crawford	Jordan	Rogers (KY)
Culberson	Joyce (OH)	Rohrabacher
Curbelo (FL)	Katko	Rokita
Curtis	Kelly (MS)	Rooney, Francis
Davidson	Kelly (PA)	Rooney, Thomas
Davis, Rodney	King (IA)	J.
Denham	King (NY)	Ros-Lehtinen
Dent	Kinzing	Roskam
DesJarlais	Knight	Ross
Diaz-Balart	Kustoff (TN)	Rothfus
Donovan	Labrador	Rouzer
Duffy	LaHood	Royce (CA)
Duncan (SC)	LaMalfa	Russell
Duncan (TN)	Lamborn	Rutherford
Dunn	Lance	Sanford
Emmer	Latta	Scalise
Estes (KS)	Lewis (MN)	Schweikert
Farenthold	LoBiondo	Sensenbrenner
Faso	Long	Sessions
Ferguson	Loudermilk	Shimkus
Fitzpatrick	Love	Shuster
Fleischmann	Lucas	Simpson
Fortenberry	Luetkemeyer	Smith (MO)
Fox	MacArthur	Smith (NE)
Franks (AZ)	Marchant	Smith (NJ)
Frelinghuysen	Marino	Smith (TX)
Gaetz	Marshall	Smucker
Gallagher	Massie	Stefanik
Garrett	Mast	Stewart
Gianforte	McCarthy	Stivers
Gibbs	McCaul	Taylor
Gohmert	McClintock	Tenney
Goodlatte	McHenry	Thompson (PA)
Gosar	McKinley	Thornberry
Gowdy	McMorris	Tiberi
Granger	Rodgers	Tipton
Graves (GA)	McSally	Trott
Graves (LA)	Meadows	Turner
Graves (MO)	Meehan	Upton
Griffith	Messer	Valadao
Grothman	Mitchell	Wagner
Guthrie	Moolenaar	Walberg
Handel	Mooney (WV)	Walden
Harper	Mullin	Walker
Harris	Newhouse	Walorski
Hartzer	Noem	Walters, Mimi
Hensarling	Norman	Weber (TX)
Herrera Beutler	Nunes	Webster (FL)
Hice, Jody B.	Olson	Wenstrup
Higgins (LA)	Palazzo	Westerman
Hill	Palmer	Williams
Holding	Paulsen	Wilson (SC)
Hollingsworth	Pearce	Wittman
Hudson	Perry	Womack
Huizenga	Pittenger	Woodall
Hultgren	Poe (TX)	Yoder
Hunter	Poliquin	Yoho
Hurd	Posey	Young (AK)
Issa	Ratcliffe	Young (IA)
Jenkins (KS)	Reed	Zeldin
Jenkins (WV)	Reichert	
Johnson (LA)	Rice (SC)	

## NOT VOTING—14

Barton	Flores	Renacci
Beatty	Gutiérrez	Ruppersberger
Bridenstine	Kennedy	Scott, Austin
Conyers	Pocan	Walz
DeSantis	Quigley	

□ 2054

Mses. MCSALLY and HERRERA BEUTLER changed their vote from “yea” to “nay.”

Ms. MOORE, Mr. GOTTHEIMER, and Ms. SPEIER changed their vote from “nay” to “yea.”

So the motion to instruct was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Chair appoints the following conferees on H.R. 1:

From the Committee on Ways and Means, for consideration of the House bill and the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs. BRADY of Texas,

NUNES, ROSKAM, Mmes. BLACK, NOEM, Messrs. NEAL, LEVIN, and DOGGETT.

From the Committee on Energy and Commerce, for consideration of section 20003 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs. WALDEN, SHIMKUS, and Ms. CASTOR of Florida.

From the Committee on Natural Resources, for consideration of sections 20001 and 20002 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs. BISHOP of Utah, YOUNG of Alaska, and GRIJALVA.

There was no objection.

# ENCOURAGING JAMIE DUPREE AS HE BATTLES TONGUE PROTRUSION DYSTONIA

(Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to talk about Jamie Dupree, who serves as the radio news director of the Washington Bureau of the Cox Media Group.

I have had the privilege of knowing Jamie for more than two decades. With his professional coverage of both congressional and national politics, Jamie has become a trusted voice for radio listeners in Atlanta, as well as in my home State of Florida.

However, in the summer of 2016, Jamie, a radio reporter, lost his voice to tongue protrusion dystonia, a neurological condition which can create severe speech, swallowing, and breathing difficulties. This is a rare condition, which has no known treatment, and it prevents Jamie's brain from connecting to his mouth and causes his throat to push his tongue out of his mouth when he attempts to speak, squeezing the sound out of his voice—a radio reporter.

However, in spite of his severe health problems, Jamie has remained active through Twitter and his news blog. Mr. Speaker, Jamie Dupree is a perfect example of the positive role that devoted and professional journalists play in our free society, and I wish him and his family all of the best during this most difficult time.

Thank you, Jamie. Godspeed.

# CONGRATULATING THE HILLSIDE HIGH SCHOOL COMETS

(Mr. PAYNE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to congratulate my alma mater, Hillside High School, class of 1976, in Hillside, New Jersey. The Hillside Comets football team won their State championship against the Point Pleasant Boro Panthers on Saturday.

The Hillside Comets finished their season with a 9-3 record. They beat the top-seeded Panthers to bring home Hillside's first State title since 1985.

The Comets are only the second football team from Union County to win a State title in central Jersey in 15 years.

Mr. Speaker, the Hillside Comets football team are winners both on and off the field. Sixteen players are on the honor roll, and five of them are members of the National Honor Society. The team's successes are, no doubt, a testament to the high expectations set by their head coach, Barris Grant.

I was honored to join the Comets at their celebration on Sunday, and I am proud to have such outstanding students in my district. I ask my colleagues to join me in congratulating the Hillside High School Comets, winners on and off the field.

□ 2100

# STANFORD CHAMPION SWIMMER AND RAPIST BROCK TURNER: POSTER BOY FOR SWIMMING, POSTER BOY FOR RAPE

(Mr. POE of Texas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. POE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, last year, Stanford rapist and champion swimmer Brock Turner was sentenced to a mere 6 months in prison for his disgusting crime: raping an unconscious young woman behind a dumpster in the darkness of night.

The judge claimed a prison sentence would have “a severe impact on him.” Never mind that a rape victim sometimes gets a life sentence of mental turmoil and anguish.

But apparently, the light punishment is still too tough for the rapist and his daddy dearest. Now they have gone crying and appealing to the courts, trying to avoid the designation that Turner earned as a registered sex offender.

Daddy's high-dollar legal team is claiming the victim was intoxicated and Turner should get more leniency. It is the old defense: it was the victim's fault.

The fact the victim was intoxicated and unconscious makes the crime worse. She was helpless. She could not consent or fight back.

Rape is never the fault of the victim—never.

Uphold the conviction and give Brock Turner the only title he deserves: sex offender and poster boy for rape.

And that is just the way it is.

# REPUBLICAN TAX SCAM

(Ms. KAPTUR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, the American public has caught on to our Republican colleagues' tax scam. They know this bill takes from the struggling middle class and bountifully rewards the billionaire class and transnational corporations that ship our jobs overseas. In fact, the only permanent tax giveaways in their bill are